

## Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 AF-06 SAM-01 IO-10 OPIC-03 SAJ-01

CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-02 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05

PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 OMB-01 /081 W

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R 251733Z AUG 75

FM AMEMBASSY PARIS

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2468

INFO AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS

AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN

AMEMBASSY HELSINKI

AMEMBASSY LISBON

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E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PINT, PFOR, FR, PO

SUBJECT: PORTUGAL: MARCHAIS ANSWERS SOARES CALL FOR  
JOINT MEETING AND CALLS FOR COMMON POSITION WITH PSF

1. SUMMARY: GEORGES MARCHAIS, SECRETARY GENERAL  
FRENCH COMMUNIST PARTY REPLIED ON AUGUST 22 TO MARIO  
SOARES' SUGGESTION FOR MEETING OF CERTAIN EUROPEAN  
COMMUNIST AND SOCIALIST PARTIES BY PROPOSING MEETING  
INCLUDE ALL "CAPITALIST" EUROPEAN COUNTRIES. ON SAME  
DAY, PRESS MADE PUBLIC LETTER MARCHAIS ADDRESSED TO PSF  
LEADER MITTERRAND CALLING FOR COMMON POSITION OF TWO  
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FRENCH PARTIES ON PORTUGAL.

2. IN REPLY TO MARIO SOARES' PROPOSAL IN AN AFP INTERVIEW OF AUGUST 21 THAT COMMUNIST AND SOCIALIST PARTIES OF SPAIN, FRANCE, ITALY, AND PORTUGAL MEET TO DISCUSS WAYS TO ADVANCE TOWARD SOCIALISM, PCF LEADER MARCHAIS STATED TO THE PRESS FOLLOWING DAY THAT HE WAS IN FAVOR OF IDEA BUT SUGGESTED MEETING TO INCLUDE OTHER EUROPEAN COUNTRIES. PERTINENT PORTION OF STATEMENT IN FOLLOWING PARAGRAPH:

3. "WE ARE NATURALLY AVAILABLE FOR CONCERTED INITIATIVES WHICH WOULD GIVE THE NECESSARY SCOPE TO THIS MOVEMENT FOR UNITED SOLIDARITY, NOT ONLY IN FRANCE BUT FOR ALL OF CAPITALIST EUROPE. IN ADDITION, I HAVE ALREADY HAD OCCASION TO UNDERLINE SEVERAL TIMES ...THAT WE BELIEVE IT POSSIBLE AND NECESSARY TO ENGAGE IN A CONSTRUCTIVE DIALOGUE BETWEEN COMMUNIST AND SOCIALIST PARTIES IN THIS REGION OF THE WORLD TO ESTABLISH BETWEEN THEM AN ACTIVE COOPERATION FOR THE DEFENSE OF WORKERS' INTERESTS AND NOTABLY FOR THE DEFENSE AND PROGRESS OF DEMOCRACY. WE ARE ALWAYS READY TO DISCUSS AND DEFINE IN COMMON WITH THESE FORCES, AND NOTABLY WITH THE SOCIALIST PARTIES, THE OBJECTIVES AND MEANS OF THE COMMON STRUGGLE FOR DEMOCRACY AND SOCIALISM, TAKING INTO CONSIDERATION THE CONDITIONS AND TRADITIONS PROPER TO EACH COUNTRY. WE DON'T SEE, THEREFORE, WHY IT IS NECESSARY IN ADVANCE TO RESTRICT THE FORM OF SUCH A CONCERTATION TO FOUR COUNTRIES. THIS SAID, THIS PROBLEM OF UNION IN THE STRUGGLE FOR DEMOCRACY AND SOCIALISM PRESENTS ITSELF TODAY MOST ACUTELY IN PORTUGAL ITSELF. THAT IS WHY THE PSP WOULD DO WELL TO BEGIN BY RESPONDING FAVORABLY AND WITHOUT WAITING ANY LONGER TO THE REPEATED PROPOSITIONS OF THE LAST FEW MONTHS BY THE PCP, AND RENEWED LATELY, IN FAVOR OF UNION OF THE TWO PARTIES ON A COMMON PLATFORM, GUARANTEEING AT THE SAME TIME ECONOMIC TRANSFORMATIONS AND THE MOST EXTENSIVE DEMOCRATIC LIBERTIES."

4. IN A LETTER DATED AUGUST 19 AND MADE PUBLIC AUGUST 22, MARCHAIS REJECTED THE MAIN POINTS OF PSF LEADER MITTERRAND'S LETTER TO THE PCF (PARIS 21096) AND LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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CALLED FOR A COMMON CAMPAIGN OF SOLIDARITY AND ACTION IN SUPPORT OF PORTUGUESE DEMOCRATS. FOUR TIMES IN HIS LETTER, MARCHAIS REJECTED THE PRIOR NECESSITY FOR A JOINT POSITION OR AGREEMENT BY THE FRENCH PARTIES ON THEIR ANALYSIS OF THE SITUATION IN PORTUGAL AND ON THE POLICIES THAT PORTUGUESE DEMOCRATS SHOULD FOLLOW. SUCH A POSITION WOULD AMOUNT TO UNACCEPTABLE INTERFERENCE IN PORTUGUESE INTERNAL AFFAIRS, ACCORDING TO MARCHAIS. IN ANSWER TO

MITTERRAND'S ACCUSATION THAT THE PCF IS RESPONSIBLE FOR  
ERRORS OF JUDGMENT AND DOES NOT RESPECT UNIVERSAL  
SUFFRAGE' THE SECRETARY GENERAL UNDERLINED THE SPECIAL  
CONDITIONS OF THE PORTUGUESE SITUATION. MARCHAIS REA-  
SONS THAT THE PCP, PSP AND OTHER FACTIONS SIGNED AN  
AGREEMENT WITH THE MFA DEFINING WITH PRECISION THE  
SIGNIFICANCE OF THE ELECTIONS AND LEAVING THE COMPOSITION  
OF THE GOVERNMENT TO THE SOLE COMPETENCE OF THE  
PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC. THIS WOULD BE AFTER CONSUL-  
TATIONS WITH THE REVOLUTIONARY COUNCIL AND UNTIL THE

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ELECTION OF A LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY. NOTHING, MARCHAIS CONTINUED, PERMITS ONE TO STATE THAT THE PCF HAS NOT RESPECTED THIS AGREEMENT. ADDITIONAL POINT MADE IN LETTER REFERS TO FACT THAT SPECIAL CONDITIONS IN PORTUGAL LEAD PCF TO REJECT IDEA THAT THE PORTUGUESE EXPERIENCE COULD BE A MODEL FOR FRANCE. LETTER ENDS WITH REPEATED CALL TO PSF AND OTHER DEMOCRATIC FORCES IN FRANCE TO SUPPORT THE PORTUGUESE DEMOCRATS.

5. COMMENT: WHILE PCF HAS NOT YIELDED ON ANY OF THE FUNDAMENTAL POINTS OF ISSUE WITH PSF, THE TONE OF MARCHAIS LETTER IS LESS HARSH - EVEN DEFENSIVE - THAN LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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WERE EARLIER STATEMENTS. NOTEWORTHY IS PCF ATTEMPT TO LEGITIMIZE PCF AND ITS OWN POSITION BY DOWNPLAYING PORTUGUESE ELECTION OF LAST APRIL AND STRESSING MFA/PARTIES AGREEMENT LIMITING THE POWERS OF THE CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY BEFORE IT WAS ELECTED. PSF HAS GIVEN NO INDICATION IT IS PREPARING A REPLY. ONLY PSF COMMENT ON SUBJECT WAS EARLIER REMARK TO THE PRESS BY MEMBER OF PSF SECRETARIAT DOMINIQUE TADDEI, WHO IS PRESENTLY ON FACT-FINDING TRIP IN PORTUGAL (PARIS 21017), CALLING FOR PORTUGUESE COMMUNISTS AND SOCIALISTS TO MEET AND WORK OUT A COMMON PROGRAM. HE MAY WELL HAVE GONE BEYOND HIS MANDATE IN SUGGESTING THE PSP WOULD WELCOME SUCH A MEETING. THE DEBATE REMAINS OPEN IN FRANCE AND WILL FLAIR UP AGAIN AS SOON AS DEVELOPMENTS IN PORTUGAL PROVIDE THE OCCASION.

6. WITH RESPECT TO WESTERN EUROPEAN CONFERENCE OF COMMUNIST AND SOCIALIST PARTIES ON PORTUGAL, MARCHAIS NO DOUBT REALIZES THERE WOULD BE MAJOR DIFFICULTIES IN ORGANIZING SUCH CONFERENCE AND WE SEE HIS IDEA AS AN ATTEMPT TO FORESTALL CONCRETE STEPS BEING TAKEN TO CARRY OUT SOARES' PROPOSAL.

7. WHILE PORTUGAL HAS DOMINATED MUCH OF THE FRENCH PRESS FOR LAST MONTH AND CONTINUES TO DO SO, GENERAL PUBLIC IS LESS CONCERNED WITH FOREIGN POLICY ASPECT THAN PUBLICITY WOULD LEAD ONE TO BELIEVE. ON THE DOMESTIC SIDE, ON-GOING DEBATE BETWEEN TWO MAIN PARTIES IN QUESTION (PCF AND PSF) HAS GIVEN PUBLIC IMPRESSION OF ENDLESS INTERNAL SQUABBLING -- OVER BOTH THEORY AND PRACTICE. MARCHAIS HAS LEFT IMAGE OF THE MORE DOCTRINAIRE, INFLEXIBLE AND LESS DEMOCRATIC LEADER, WHILE MITTERRAND PROJECTS HIMSELF AS THE TRADITIONAL SOCIAL DEMOCRAT WHO KNOWS THE LIMITATIONS OF HIS ALLIANCE WITH THE COMMUNISTS AND IS THUS ABLE TO HOLD HIS GROUND IN THE FACE OF RELENTLESS PCF DOCTRINAL

ASSAULT. HOWEVER, SOME OF HIS ASSOCIATES IN THE PSF  
FEEL THAT MITTERRAND SHOULD BE MORE ACTIVE BY WORD AND  
DEED TO OFFSET SOME OF PCF ACTIVISM.  
GAMMON

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## Message Attributes

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**Draft Date:** 25 AUG 1975  
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**Disposition Approved on Date:**  
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**Disposition Case Number:** n/a  
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